

Immigration Politics and Partisan Realignment: California, Texas, and the 1994 Election

James E. Monogan III & Austin C. Doctor

Codebook

Here we present a description of the variables from the seven principal data files we analyze, plus an eighth file used in appendix analysis. The first seven files are called by `analysis.R` to reproduce the results of the primary text of the article. Each bullet point represents one of the eight data sets, and variables are listed below along with codes for ordinal and nominal variables. Finally, we conclude the codebook with complete citations of all data sources.

- **File:** `ca1994exit.dta`. Exit poll from the 1994 California Election.

race: Race of respondent. 1=White, 2=Black, 3=Hispanic, 4=Asian, 5=Other.

governor: Gubernatorial vote choice. 1=Brown, 2=Wilson, 8=Other.

p187: Vote on Proposition 187. 1=Yes, 2=No.

precinct: Respondent precinct number.

weight: Survey weight.

- **File:** `texas1994exit.dta`. Exit poll from the 1994 Texas Election.

V11: Race of respondent. 1=White, 2=Black, 3=Hispanic, 4=Asian, 5=Other.

V15: Gubernatorial vote choice. 1=Richards, 2=Bush, 8=Other.

V6: Respondent precinct number.

V51: Survey weight.

- **File: tx9098.csv.** Quarterly data for Texas macropartisanship.

year: Year of study.

quarter: Quarter of study.

joint: Six-digit unique identifier based on year and quarter of study. Format is YYYYQQ.

txRep: Percentage of all survey respondents identifying as Republican in a quarter.

txDem: Percentage of all survey respondents identifying as Democratic in a quarter.

txMacro: Macropartisanship score among all survey respondents in a quarter.

txHispRep: Percentage of Hispanic survey respondents identifying as Republican in a quarter.

txHispDem: Percentage of Hispanic survey respondents identifying as Democratic in a quarter.

txHispMacro: Macropartisanship score among Hispanic respondents in a quarter.

txWhiteRep: Percentage of white survey respondents identifying as Republican in a quarter.

txWhiteDem: Percentage of white survey respondents identifying as Democratic in a quarter.

txWhiteMacro: Macropartisanship score among white respondents in a quarter.

- **File: usMacropartisanship.csv.** Quarterly data for United States macropartisanship. All public opinion variables are measured nationally.

year: Year of study.

quarter: Quarter of study.

id: Six-digit unique identifier based on year and quarter of study. Format is YYYYQQ.

approve.q: Presidential approval with in a quarter. Coded as positive during Democratic administrations and negative during Republican administrations.

political: The political element of presidential approval. (Measured as the residuals from a regression of approval as a function of consumer sentiment.)

macropartisanship.q: Macropartisanship score among all survey respondents in a quarter.

sentiment: Michigan index of consumer sentiment. Coded as positive during Democratic administrations and negative during Republican administrations.

l.approve: Lagged presidential approval.

l.political: Lagged political element of presidential approval.

l.macropartisanship: Lagged macropartisanship.

l.sentiment: Lagged consumer sentiment.

party: Presidential party indicator. -1=Republican, +1=Democratic.

president: Presidential administration index—intended to be treated as a factor variable. 37=Nixon, 38=Ford, 39=Carter, 40=Reagan, 41=H.W. Bush, 42=Clinton, 43=W. Bush, 44=Obama.

LAtimes: Number of stories printed in the *Los Angeles Times* the include that word “immigration” in a given quarter.

hispFB: Percentage of the Hispanic population that is foreign born.

- **File: caTotalMacropartisanship.csv**. Quarterly data for California macropartisanship. Macropartisanship is measured with the Field Poll of California residents. Public opinion predictor variables are measured nationally.

year: Year of study.

quarter: Quarter of study.

id: Six-digit unique identifier based on year and quarter of study. Format is YYYYQQ.

approve.q: Presidential approval with in a quarter. Coded as positive during Democratic administrations and negative during Republican administrations.

political: The political element of presidential approval. (Measured as the residuals from a regression of approval as a function of consumer sentiment.)

caPartisanship.q: Macropartisanship score among all survey respondents in a quarter from Field Poll data.

sentiment: Michigan index of consumer sentiment. Coded as positive during Democratic administrations and negative during Republican administrations.

l.approve: Lagged presidential approval.

l.political: Lagged political element of presidential approval.

l.caPartisanship: Lagged macropartisanship.

l.sentiment: Lagged consumer sentiment.

party: Presidential party indicator. -1=Republican, +1=Democratic.

president: Presidential administration index—intended to be treated as a factor variable. 37=Nixon, 38=Ford, 39=Carter, 40=Reagan, 41=H.W. Bush, 42=Clinton, 43=W. Bush, 44=Obama.

LAtimes: Number of stories printed in the *Los Angeles Times* the include that word “immigration” in a given quarter.

hispFB: Percentage of the Hispanic population that is foreign born.

- **File: caHisMacropartisanship.csv.** Quarterly data for California macropartisanship among Hispanic residents. Macropartisanship is measured with the Field Poll of California residents, subset to Hispanic respondents. Public opinion predictor variables are measured nationally among all respondents.

year.hisp: Year of study.

quarter.hisp: Quarter of study.

id.hisp: Six-digit unique identifier based on year and quarter of study. Format is YYYYQQ.

approve.hisp.q: Presidential approval with in a quarter. Coded as positive during Democratic administrations and negative during Republican administrations.

political.hisp: The political element of presidential approval. (Measured as the residuals from a regression of approval as a function of consumer sentiment.)

caPartisanship.hisp.q: Macropartisanship score among Hispanic survey respondents in a quarter from Field Poll data.

sentiment.hisp: Michigan index of consumer sentiment. Coded as positive during Democratic administrations and negative during Republican administrations.

l.approve.hisp: Lagged presidential approval.

l.political.hisp: Lagged political element of presidential approval.

l.caPartisanship.hisp: Lagged macropartisanship.

l.sentiment.hisp: Lagged consumer sentiment.

party.hisp: Presidential party indicator. -1=Republican, +1=Democratic.

president.hisp: Presidential administration index—intended to be treated as a factor variable. 37=Nixon, 38=Ford, 39=Carter, 40=Reagan, 41=H.W. Bush, 42=Clinton, 43=W. Bush, 44=Obama.

LAtimes: Number of stories printed in the *Los Angeles Times* the include that word “immigration” in a given quarter.

hispFB: Percentage of the Hispanic population that is foreign born.

- **File: caWhiteMacropartisanship.csv.** Quarterly data for California macropartisanship among white residents. Macropartisanship is measured with the Field Poll of California residents, subset to white respondents. Public opinion predictor variables are measured nationally among all respondents.

year.white: Year of study.

quarter.white: Quarter of study.

id.white: Six-digit unique identifier based on year and quarter of study. Format is YYYYQQ.

approve.white.q: Presidential approval with in a quarter. Coded as positive during Democratic administrations and negative during Republican administrations.

political.white: The political element of presidential approval. (Measured as the residuals from a regression of approval as a function of consumer sentiment.)

caPartisanship.white.q: Macropartisanship score among white survey respondents in a quarter from Field Poll data.

sentiment.white: Michigan index of consumer sentiment. Coded as positive during Democratic administrations and negative during Republican administrations.

l.approve.white: Lagged presidential approval.

l.political.white: Lagged political element of presidential approval.

l.caPartisanship.white: Lagged macropartisanship.

l.sentiment.white: Lagged consumer sentiment.

party.white: Presidential party indicator. -1=Republican, +1=Democratic.

president.white: Presidential administration index—intended to be treated as a factor variable. 37=Nixon, 38=Ford, 39=Carter, 40=Reagan, 41=H.W. Bush, 42=Clinton, 43=W. Bush, 44=Obama.

LAtimes: Number of stories printed in the *Los Angeles Times* the include that word “immigration” in a given quarter.

hisplib: Percentage of the Hispanic population that is foreign born.

- **File: anes_timeseries_cdf.dta**. Individual-level data for partisanship and race among participants of the American National Election Studies from 1970-2012.

VCF0004: Year of study.

VCF0006: Respondent number: year-level case ID.

VCV0006a: Unique respondent number (cross-year ID for panel cases).

VCF0009x: Survey weight.

VCF0105a: Race-ethnicity. 1=White Non-Hispanic, 2=Black Non-Hispanic, 3=Asian or Pacific Islander Non-Hispanic, 4=American Indian or Alaska Native Non-Hispanic, 5=Hispanic, 6=Other or Multiple Races Non-Hispanic, 7=Non-White and Non-Black, 9=Missing.

VCF0302: Party identification, subdividing non-partisans: 1=Republican, 2=Independent, 3=No Preference/None/Neither, 4=Other, 5=Democrat, 8=Don't Know, 9=NA/Refused.

VCF0303: Party identification, 3-point collapsed scale: 0=Don't Know/NA/Other/Refused to Answer/No, 1=Democrats (including leaners), 2=Independents, 3=Republicans (including leaners).

VCF0901b: State postal abbreviation.

Citations of Data Sources

- 1994 California and Texas exit polls: Voter News Service. Voter News Service General Election Exit Polls, 1994 [Computer file]. ICPSR06520-v1. New York, NY: Voter News Service [producer], 1994. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor], 1995. doi:10.3886/ICPSR06520, <http://icpsr.umich.edu>. (Accessed 24 November 2009.)
- California partisanship series: Field Research Corporation. The Field Poll Cumulative File, 1956-2006 [Computer file]. San Francisco, CA: Field Research Corporation [producer], 2006. Berkeley, CA: UCDATA Archive, Survey Research Center at the University of California-Berkeley [distributor], 2006. <http://ucdata.berkeley.edu/>. (Accessed 30 June 2009.)
 - Additional field poll information from UC Data’s SDA service for 2010: Field Research Corporation. The Field Poll, 2010 [Interactive website]. San Francisco, CA: Field Research Corporation [producer], 2010. Berkeley, CA: UCDATA Archive, Survey Research Center at the University of California-Berkeley [distributor], 2012. <http://ucdata.berkeley.edu/>. (Accessed 9-12 February 2015.)
- Texas partisanship series: Dyer, James. The Texas Poll, 1990-1998 [CD-ROM]. College Station, TX: Public Policy Research Institute at Texas A&M University, 2009.
- United States quarterly macropartisanship: Gallup. Gallup Polls, 1969-2010 [Computer file]. Washington, DC: Gallup [producer], 2010. Storrs, CT: iPoll Databank, Roper Center Public Opinion Archives at the University of Connecticut [distributor], 2015. <http://webapps.ropercenter.uconn.edu/>. (Data for 1969-2008 accessed 11 February 2012, and data for 2009-2012 accessed 23 February 2015.)
 - Biennial partisanship with state identifiers for additional appendix analysis: American National Election Studies, and Stanford University. ANES Time Series Cumulative Data File (1948-2012). ICPSR08475-v15. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor], 2015-10-23. <http://doi.org/10.3886/ICPSR08475.v15>, <http://icpsr.umich.edu>. (Accessed 11 August 2015.)
- Index of Consumer Sentiment: Thomson Reuters and the University of Michigan. Surveys of Consumers, 1969-2010 [Computer file]. Ann Arbor, MI: Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan, 2015. <http://www.sca.isr.umich.edu/>. (Accessed 7 February 2015.)

- Presidential Approval Ratings: Gallup. Gallup Polls, 1969-2010 [Computer file]. Washington, DC: Gallup [producer], 2010. Storrs, CT: iPoll Databank, Roper Center Public Opinion Archives at the University of Connecticut [distributor], 2015. <http://webapps.ropercenter.uconn.edu/>. (Data for 1969-2008 accessed 11 February 2012, and data for 2009-2012 accessed 16 February 2015.)
- Percentage of Hispanic population that is foreign born (all accessed 9 July 2015):
 - U.S. Census Bureau. American FactFinder [Interactive website]. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Commerce, 2015. <http://www.census.gov/population/hispanic/data/>
 - U.S. Census Bureau. American FactFinder [Interactive website]. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Commerce, 2015. <http://www.census.gov/popest/data/intercensal/national/nat2010.html>
 - U.S. Census Bureau. American FactFinder [Interactive website]. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Commerce, 2015. <http://www.census.gov/population/estimates/nation/nativity/fstab003.txt>
 - U.S. Census Bureau. American FactFinder [Interactive website]. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Commerce, 2015. <http://www.census.gov/population/estimates/nation/nativity/nbtab003.txt>
 - U.S. Census Bureau. American FactFinder [Interactive website]. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Commerce, 2015. <http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0029/tab08.html>
 - Stepler, Renee and Anna Brown. Statistical Portrait of Hispanics in the United States, 1980-2013 [Online article]. Washington, DC: Pew Hispanic Center, 2015. <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2015/05/12/statistical-portrait-of-hispanics-in-the-united-states-1980-2013-trends/>
 - Haub, Carl. Changing the Way U.S. Hispanics Are Counted [Online article]. Washington, DC: Population Reference Bureau, 2012. <http://www.prb.org/Publications/Articles/2012/us-census-and-hispanics.aspx>
 - Passel, Jeffrey S. and Marta Tienda. From Native to Immigrant and Back Again: A Historical and Prospective Analysis of Generational Changes in the Latino Population, 1960-2030 [Working paper]. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University, 2005. <http://paa2005.princeton.edu/papers/51541>
- *Los Angeles Times* coverage of immigration was based on search for articles containing the word “immigration” in the *Los Angeles Times* archives: *Los Angeles Times*. Archives [Interactive website]. Los Angeles, CA: Tribune Publishing, 2015. <http://pqasb.pqarchiver.com/latimes/advancedsearch.html>. (Accessed 15 July 2015.)